

PAK

-slogan shouted at NATO
Ministers meeting, Ottawa,
Canada, June 18, 1974-

NEWSLETTER

FOR CYPRUS
EVENTS SEE
PAGE 12...

PRESS RELEASE: Today representatives of the Greek community of Canada have come to register their strong protest against NATO, which, in military alliance and under the guidance of the United States, has kept the Greek people for seven years under a brutal, oppressive dictatorship.

It is clear that no nation within the alliance, Canada included, has been willing to stand up firmly for the democratic rights of an ally, but have instead been collaborators in the subjugation of a country within the western community of nations.

Right now, as the discussions go on, a representative of the mafia in Greece, is greeted and welcomed into the meetings, while his fellow junta members back in Athens use beatings, mock executions, electro-shock and other modern forms of torture on the citizens of that country as (cont.)

MURDERERS
OF
OUR
CHILDREN!

*Angry
demonstrator
shouts on
Parliament
Hill*



punishment for expressing their political beliefs.

All of these things are known, have been documented by the Council of Europe and commented upon by a panel of the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations, by the International Commission of Jurists, and other internationally respected bodies. What is also known is that U.S. and NATO weapons were used to kill more than three hundred unarmed students in the Student Uprising at the Polytechnic in November, 1973. Yet the NATO organization treats with indifference this appalling and shocking state of affairs.

It is because of these barbaric activities, the loss of their freedom and all human rights, that the Greeks today are against the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in Piraeus, and against U.S. and NATO missile bases on their sovereign land. The Panhellenic Liberation Movement, a resistance organization representing a vast majority of the Greek people, takes the stand that the United States must leave, and that NATO must leave; that Greece must become an independent, sovereign nation, freed from foreign enslavement and imperialistic, neo-colonial ties -- A GREECE THAT BELONGS TO THE GREEKS!

FROM PAK's P.O. BOX.....



Independence and Socialism

CANADIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

P.O. BOX 41, STATION "E" TORONTO 4, ONTARIO, CANADA

(416) 964-1139

June 25, 1974.

Dear Friends,

The Canadian Liberation Movement was happy to have joined with you in the recent demonstration against U.S. imperialism on the occasion of the NATO Conference in Ottawa.

The NATO alliance is a major tool of U.S. imperialism in its oppression of the Greek people and people around the world, including Canada. The presence of Kissinger here was an insult to the Canadian people and all peoples fighting for national liberation. The demonstration was quite successful in reflecting the opposition of both the Greek and Canadian peoples to U.S. imperialism.

Our comrades in the Ottawa Club of the Canadian Liberation Movement asked us in particular to tell you that they learned a great deal from participating in that demonstration and meeting members of PAK.

Had we known in advance that PAK planned to send demonstrators to Ottawa, we would have welcomed the opportunity to send demonstrators from Toronto and to give any other assistance in Ottawa that might have been helpful.

Our two organisations have been exchanging publications for some time and we look forward to co-operating further on projects such as this in the future.

For a Free Greece and a Free Canada

For Independence and Socialism,

Gail Lord.

Gail Lord,
General Secretary, CLM.

ACTION IN OTTAWA



RESOLVED: That the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, feeling the weight and consciousness of what Black people are suffering everywhere, condemns the practice of Greek emigration to South Africa where Greeks become part of the racist establishment which is oppressing and brutalizing the Blacks of that country.

July 5, 1974

National Council of PAK

NATO TENTACLES

NATO PLANS TO PROTECT AFRICAN CAPE ROUTE

from The Observer, May 20, 1974

by Andrew Wilson and Sue Masterman

The head of the NATO Press service admitted to The Observer in a telephone call from Brussels yesterday that the NATO Supreme Commander, Atlantic, Admiral Ralph Cousins, had received secret authorisation to study possible operations in the Southern African area.

The allegation that SACLANT had been given a secret directive to conduct contingency planning in the area was made in a United Nations commissioned report leaked earlier in the week to Parliamentary circles here. The report says the study is intended to prepare the way for the setting up of a 'counter-intervention' force in the area with South African co-operation; but NATO vigorously denies this.

According to the NATO Press chief, authorisation for the study by SACLANT was given in October 1972, because of concern at the possibility that the Soviet Union could interfere with oil supplies for Europe and American around the Cape.

Asked why the existence of the directive had been kept secret, he said: 'It is purely military matter, and thus one we do not normally talk about.'

The U.N. report - commissioned for the General Assembly's de-colonisation committee....was written by three American professors.... It says the directive to SACLANT came as a triumph for a largely British pressure group that had been working on behalf of the white regimes in Southern Africa since the 1960's; and that one of the principal figures was the former Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. Geoffrey Rippon.

'From 1970 the British government began to press its allies for an extension of NATO. Members of the Government were aware of the opposition to the idea among their allies....They therefore proceeded to press for various *ad hoc* arrangements. In this, they seem to have had some support from the Nixon administration.

'In the spring of 1972, the supporters of defence co-operation with the white regimes scored their first important success. The Military Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly appointed a sub-committee to examine the 'Soviet maritime threat.'

The report says the purpose of establishing the committee was to bring the 'threat' to the Cape route into the open; and the appointment as its *rapporteur* of the right-wing British MP Mr. Patrick Wall was part of an attempt to commit NATO to the policies recommended by Mr. Rippon.

It says that in a draft working paper in June, 1972, raising the question of 'NATO being outflanked to the south,' Mr. Wall was making a barely-veiled argument for a naval alliance with South Africa. 'It bears repeating that this could not have been accidental. One can only deduce that the results which Mr. Wall produced were those which were intended by those who secured his appointment.'

According to the report, the draft working paper prepared by Mr. Wall's sub-committee had to be toned down, for political reasons, by the NATO Assembly's Military Committee.

After the committee approved the report the discussion continued in the full Assembly in Bonn, with the result that the Assembly approved 'Recommendation 22.' This urged the North Atlantic Council to give SACLANT authority to plan for the protection of the Cape routes.

The UN report says the recommendation caused considerable disquiet in a number of European countries. It goes on: 'Western Governments have been very sensitive about this and have gone out of their way to deny that anything has actually happened.'

'It is now clear that this is not true. The 1972 deliberations of the Assembly ... were the prelude to an official decision to move towards defence planning with the white regimes. The decision was taken....at a Ministerial session in Brussels, when the Defence Planning Committee of NATO issued a classified communique in response to Recommendation 22. The communique gave SACLANT authority to plan for contingencies "outside the NATO area."'

CABLE TO MITCHELL SHARPE, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER:

INFORMATION REACHING US ABOUT TONY AMBIETELOS, WELL-KNOWN SYNDICALIST, INDICATES THAT HE HAS BEEN TORTURED ALMOST TO DEATH IN THE HANDS OF THE U.S. AND NATO SUPPORTED GREEK JUNTA. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT CANADA IS A MEMBER OF THIS ALLIANCE AND HOST TO THE NATO MEETINGS, WE BELIEVE IT INCUMBENT UPON THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT TO INVESTIGATE THIS MATTER AND TAKE THE APPROPRIATE ACTION. WE FEEL IT IS WAY PAST DUE THAT CANADA ACT ON ITS NATO PLEDGE AS STATED IN THE PREAMBLE, THAT THE PARTIES TO THE TREATY ARE DETERMINED TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE AND CIVILIZATION OF THEIR PEOPLES, FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW.

CANADA'S CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE GREEK JUNTA THROUGH NATO MAKES IT AN OPPRESSOR OF THE GREEK PEOPLE.

THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN CANADA WILL BE WATCHING WHAT ACTION YOU TAKE.

FRIENDS OF PAK - TORONTO
JUNE 12, 1974

PAK in London

- from our NEWSLETTER correspondent in London, a report -

The president of the National Council of PAK, Andreas Papandreou, in the context of his tour of Europe, visited London from May 18 to 22, invited by PAK of Great Britain.

Papandreou's visit in London was an important event in the life of the Greek community in Britain. He gave a speech at the London School of Economics on May 20th to over a thousand spirited members making up the audience.

At the LSE meeting the known progressive Lord Milford presided. And the Greek professor Vassilis Metaxas introduced Papandreou.

Of great significance was the twenty minute interview he gave to the BBC - Greek Section. Patriots inside Greece requested that BBC re-broadcast it because of its importance. This was done - several times.

During his stay in London the president of the National Council of PAK met with the following British ministers and high ranking people of the British Labor Party: Minister of Labor Michael Foote, Minister of Foreign Development Judy Hart, and Undersecretary of Labor John Fraser.

Dinner was given in the honor of Andreas Papandreou and the PAK representatives of Great Britain by the leader of the parliamentary council of the Labor Party, Ian Micardo, and the secretary-general of the Party Roy Hayward. In his meetings with the British politicians Papandreou stressed the lack of substantial solidarity on the part of the Labor government to the Greek fighting people who struggle for the liberation of their country from American imperialism and NATO, a member of which is Great Britain.

WARM RESPONSE....

An enthusiastic audience greeted Papandreou at the LSE, and there were emotional outbursts at many points of his speech. Following are the key passages:

"After the events of November, after the big sacrifice of our youth - the students, the workers, the people of Athens - the American occupation forces and their patrons in Athens know that the limited, measured, responsible "bit of democracy" will not be accepted in Greece, as fascism has not been accepted in Greece. And they are obliged, independently of their wishes and plans, they are obliged to support today the administration of our country through brutality, violence, torture and oppression."

"Maybe you've already heard or read, but let me repeat it here, what the American law professor Mrs. Kauffman, an American who participated in the Nuremburg trials, said after she visited our country recently. She said that the tortures of ESA surpassed the torture of the NAZI's. This is an objective evaluation; it does not come from a resistance movement or a resistance paper."

"The Americans, of course, would like a democratic facade, a second edition of Markezinis. But the Markezinis edition has been buried, for Markezinis and for all the other Markezinises."

"Greek youth, Greek democrats of London, the Greeks abroad have taken on a heavy task, the full support of our liberation movement in Greece. And it is ours alone, because there exists no government today which will support, or be ready to support openly and officially the liberation struggle of our people."

The task is a many-pronged task which we must all take seriously: the needed public relations for the isolation of the junta, the facilitation of the task of the freedom fighters in Greece, the release of our political prisoners, the material support to the struggle. It includes participation in the responsible training for entry into Greece, in order to create a liberation network in every corner of our land. It must be a de-centralized - and I emphasize 'de-centralized' - fighting network so that when another November comes we'll give the tough reply to the occupation forces, the Americans and their Greek agents.

The next time we should not hear from the resistance radio, 'We are unarmed, we are unarmed. We have only our bare breasts and our belief in Greece to place before the tanks.' Next time, the 'next November,' it should not be needed that this be said.

The call is for all of us, and it's not a call that requires only heroic action. The heroic action is the result of hard, systematic struggle which requires organizing for a large, mass people's movement - a movement which will be in a position to confront the occupier."

It is our first, our immediate responsibility, and our work. We cannot have - no matter how heroic they are, and how they stamp our history - many Novembers. The next 'November' must be the grave of the junta. And because I refer to the word 'grave' of the junta, and because many times they speak about the non-compromising Andreas, the 'extremist' Andreas, I should like to repeat here a very simple thing. I should like to mention something very basic: if the collaborators of the German occupation had been led to Goudi (the firing squad), there would't be today Papadopoulos and Ioannidis.

This does not constitute merely a simple, just anger and revenge on the part of our people. It constitutes an historical demand. Because if the violators of our people can survive, after the seven year rape of our country, then we don't have the right to say that we will establish democracy on a sound basis; we can't do it, we are not worthy of it. Consequently, the exemplary punishment of the guilty constitutes an historical demand of the first order."

"One last statement. I believe that for the first time the basis for the development of a true, massive popular movement in Greece has been laid; a movement that will lead to the liberation of our country, not only in the context of this decade, but in the way in which generations since 1821 have envisioned and dreamed of, so that at long last the ground will have been prepared for a GREECE THAT BELONGS TO THE GREEKS!"

AND THE INTERVIEW WITH BBC....

Q: There are many people in Greece, Mr. Papandreou - and I imagine we will not disagree over this - who are genuinely opposed to the current regime, but who ascribe to you perhaps a certain rigidity or implacability. What would you have to say to such people? Rather, let's put the question differently: If the objective conditions existed which would permit the emergence of a transitional situation, what conditions would you set for your participation in such an effort, whatever form it took?

A: I am not going to characterize myself as rigid or otherwise. I have always attempted to make a realistic analysis of the structure of forces; to take stands on the basis not of promises and words, but of the actual structure of forces. And I am afraid that my expectations thus far have been confirmed. For me the only question concerning the circumstance you mention is what are the guarantees that such a course will in actuality lead to the unfettered rights of the Greek people to determine the future of their country as they themselves desire. Already, our bitter experience - and not only over the last seven years - is that as long as the Greek people are restricted in the exercise of their rights by establishments directed from abroad, it is impossible for there to exist in our land either democracy, or fundamental economic and social change and progress. As a consequence, the only criterion for a responsible political man who identifies his activities with the interests of the people is one: does a particular change constitute a gain with respect to the ultimate solution - that ultimate solution being the unbounded sovereignty of the Greek people. We will condemn every solution which, although it may appear democratic, essentially has in view the solidification of the American occupation of our country, covert or otherwise.

Q: You have also mentioned the army and called upon officers, as individuals, to take part in the effort against the current regime. Don't you think this is an appeal which could lead to violent acts and the death of innocents - to a situation like that of Northern Ireland, let's say, which we have here?

A: The struggle of the Greek people is a national liberation struggle. It is not a parliamentary struggle. Therefore, it is of necessity a struggle using all means. When and how they will be used must depend on a responsible fighting leadership. We believe that at this moment the junta and its patrons are at a huge political and economic impasse. After the November events -- the sacrifice of our children -- the atmosphere has truly been created and the ground laid for the development of a massive, popular national liberation movement. For this reason, we call at this hour every Greek citizen who is a democrat and who identifies with the interests of the Greek people, to advance, in a localized, decentralized manner, to the formation of cell groups which, finally, will be integrated into the network of the liberation struggle. Within this framework, we at the same time call upon the officers as individuals - officers who at least identify their function with the interests of the Greek people - to advance as allies of the people. For certainly the corps of officers as a whole has been blackened and soiled by the service it so cynically performed for the foreign occupiers - the Pentagon and the CIA - by the way it sacrificed the interests of the people from whom it springs.

Q: Recently, there have been events in Portugal. Of course, one set of circumstances exists in that country, and another in Greece. But could you in a few words make an assessment of the situation in Portugal today?

A: Difficult, but I will try. First of all, I think that the change in Portugal is attributable to the victory of the liberation movements in Africa, and at the same time, but secondarily, to the struggle which

has taken place inside Portugal. At this moment, the future of the change is being decided. It is very hard for any one to anticipate where it will lead. Truly, a few very positive events have already occurred and, amongst them, I take special note of the imprisonment of the secret police. And I would like to note this more generally -- that without the exemplary punishment of those who have participated in the violation of the popular will, genuine democratic processes and popular sovereignty can never be established. At the same time, it is clear that the new junta in Portugal expresses two contrary tendencies. The section of the junta which is influenced by the generals and de Spínola has in view basically one solution, a confederate solution, in which Portugal will maintain at least economic influence in the colonies. The younger officers, the captains, seem to have made the decision to go as far as full independence for the colonies and full democratization for Portugal. Critical is the role of the Portuguese people. To the degree which that people organizes, to the degree which they take the initiative in action for the solidification of their own rights in Portugal, but also for the absolute support of the unrestricted independence and sovereignty of the peoples who for so many years have borne the oppression of the Portuguese establishment -- only to that degree will the first small victories of the people be secured.

Q: A final question, Mr. Papandreou: there is another country, Turkey, which is close to Greece both geographically and perhaps politically at this moment. Do you feel any political kinship with the current Prime Minister of Turkey? Do you see Greece following the same route in the near future?

A: Look, you have to make a very clear distinction between the announced program of a Prime Minister and the structure of forces which permits him to stay in power. We must keep in mind that he is Prime Minister by the consent of the army, and, in the end, consequently, by the consent of the Americans. For this reason I believe that Turkey constitutes simply a form of covert military rule of that land and, simultaneously, an indirect, but very powerful presence of the Americans. I don't believe, that is, that that the prime minister of Turkey today will be able to execute the most progressive sections of his program under present circumstances, because he is not supported exclusively by forces of the Turkish people, but by forces -- military and foreign establishments -- which will limit the degree to which he will be able to expedite his program. For this reason, with respect to Turkish realities, I don't think there is any similarity between the positions which we take and those which are expressed by the current prime minister of Turkey. Because our position -- let us state it clearly -- the position which I express, the position of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, is that of a continuing struggle using all means until the hour when Greece will be a truly independent country and the people will be sovereign -- unrestrictedly sovereign in their own land.

THE FIGHT WILL CONTINUE



from the African Liberation
Struggle.....

Namibia

SWAPO

THE ROLE OF WOMEN



WHAT HAS BEEN THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE NAMIBIAN STRUGGLE?

Women have been as active in the struggle as men. Sometimes they have been even more militant. I recall, for example, that in 1959 I attended a public rally in Walvis Bay where we spoke about petitioning the UN to come to Namibia. Just at the close of the meeting a woman came from a section of the crowd where a number of women had been talking among themselves. She asked for the bullhorn. "I have only a short message," she said. "It seems that our men are only concerned with talking about the United Nations. We say: let them look after the children and prepare food for just six or nine months and we'll see quite another solution to our problems in this country." This critical message from these women had its impact on the organization and now women are engaged in all aspects of the struggle, including the military.

In SWAPO's organizing work, women have played a very important role - both in the public campaigns before 1966 and in underground organizing work after SWAPO was banned. Many women have been active in teaching and as medical aids, and now many are trained militants fighting alongside men in the guerrilla units. Women have responsibilities at all levels of the organization, even as leaders on the Central Committee and National Executive.

SWAPO also has a Women's League, which is responsible for political education among Namibian women. The chairman of the Women's League, Libertina Appolus, was the first African doctor in Namibia; she has been a leader in SWAPO's social service programs and a very strong example for Namibian women.

HAS THE ACTIVE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE BROUGHT YOU INTO CONFLICT WITH TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES?

Yes, we have had to overcome many traditional attitudes among both men and women. It was very common for people to say: "Men should do the more important tasks and women should stick to domestic duties." The Women's League has done a lot to change this thinking. It has shown many women the importance of their full and equal participation in the liberation of the country. Among men the old mentality has been harder to eliminate; sometimes they still object to women participating in discussions and meetings, for example. However, the past six years have brought significant changes in the thinking of our politically motivated women and have learned about the role of women in other liberation struggles. From the Vietnamese, the Koreans, the Chinese and above all from our own experience, we are learning what women are capable of doing and must do if the revolution is to succeed.

*from INTERVIEWS IN DEPTH
NAMIBIA, SWAPO - Andreas Shipanga*

(Complete interview is available from TCLPAC, 121 Avenue Road, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada. 75 cents.)

PAK IS PROUD OF THE ROLE WOMEN IN GREECE HAVE BEEN PLAYING IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, PARTICULARLY THOSE COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL WOMEN WHO BRAVELY PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDENT UPRISING IN NOVEMBER, 1973.

PAK PAYS SPECIAL HOMAGE TO THE YOUNG WOMAN ANNOUNCER (NAME UNVERIFIED AS YET) OF THE FREE VOICE OF GREECE, THE POLYTECHNIC RADIO STATION, WHO WAS KILLED AT CLOSE RANGE WITH A BULLET THROUGH THE BACK OF HER HEAD - AS WERE THE TWO MALE ANNOUNCERS WORKING ALONGSIDE HER.



PAK NEWSLETTER ATTEMPTS TO KEEP YOU INFORMED ON THE EVENTS IN GREECE, TO INTERPRET AND ANALYZE THESE EVENTS, AND TO KEEP YOU UP TO DATE ON THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE. WE HOPE YOU WILL MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THAT STRUGGLE, THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO THE NEWSLETTER, AND HELP US FIND NEW SUBSCRIBERS AS WELL.

We have had to double up on several recent NEWSLETTERS, covering two months' events in one issue, instead of the usual monthly coverage because of increased printing costs, as well as our meagre resources. We hope to return to monthly issues as of August.

Your solidarity, your financial and moral support are highly valued. We truly appreciate your participation in our struggle.

PAK NEWSLETTER

Box 594, Station Q, Toronto 7

\$3.00 U.S. - \$7.00 Australia

CYPRUS GOES UNDER

AN ACCOUNT OF EVENTS PREPARED BY THE STAFF OF THE PAK NEWSLETTER



① Capital of Cyprus, official home of Makarios, president of the Republic since 1960. It was here that the action began by Greek officers of the National Guard to assassinate Makarios and overthrow his neutral government. The immediate target was the Presidential Palace (as in Chile), and the takeover of the radio station. From then on their work was to destroy the pro-Makarios armed police force and civilian resistance. Nikos Sampson, a noted sadistic killer and publisher of a rightist newspaper, was named president by the National Guard.

② Area of boyhood home of the Archbishop to which he escaped when the coup started. From here a clandestine radio calling itself RADIO FREE CYPRUS

broadcast that he was alive, rebutting the claim of the National Guard radio station that he had been killed. From here also came his first underground call to the people to fight for their liberty and independence.

③ Turkey, NATO member, and along with Greece and England, a guarantor of the integrity and independence of the island of Cyprus. In 1964 Turkey had accepted a proposal by Dean Acheson for the partition of the island into Turkish and Greek sectors. Greece and Cyprus rejected the proposal. Whatever happened on Cyprus, however, Turkey was adamant against ENOSIS.



④ The home of the fascist, dictatorial, neo-colonial guard of U.S. economic and strategic interests in that part of the Mediterranean. Since 1967, since its inception, the junta has been designing the overthrow of Makarios in order to extend the arm of NATO and the U.S. in the oil rich Middle East. It is a regime which maintains its power by arms, terror and torture.

⑤ The imperialist center from which the coup originated with the goal of partition of the island and incorporation into the NATO alliance. Because Makarios hadn't been killed - a botch of the scheme - Kissinger gave him the *coup de grace* by saying that since he had left the island he was no longer the leader of the Cypriot nation. The U.S. cast itself in the mediator role. And the production continued.....

PRIOR TO THE COUP

IN CYPRUS MAKARIOS ACCUSES GREECE - JULY 6, 1974



NICOSIA, Cyprus - President Makarios accused the Greek Government Friday with supporting a movement for his overthrow. It was the first time he had made such a charge in public.

At his monthly press briefing Makarios, who is also archbishop of Cyprus, accused the military junta ruling Greece of aiming at the "undesirable introduction of dictatorship into Cyprus." He added that the junta also tried to turn the conscript Greek Cypriot national guard "from an organ of the state into an internal occupation army."

Makarios' public charges brought into the open a long, simmering quarrel between Nikosia and Athens, which gave rise to persistent reports of an imminent junta-backed coup to topple the archbishop.

Makarios dismissed these reports. "In my view there is no possibility of a coup. But even if there were one it would have no prospects of succeeding," he said.

Despite the archbishop's views, local observers believe there is a strong possibility of a coup by the 600 Greek army officers who form the command structure of the 10,000-strong Greek Cypriot army, or national guard, as the body is officially called.

Chicago Sun-Times, July 6

PAK NEWSLETTER publishes a translation of Makarios'

OPEN LETTER TO GENERAL GHIZIKIS:

Mr. President: With great sorrow I feel myself obliged to write to you about certain unacceptable situations and facts in Cyprus for which I consider responsible the Greek government.

Since the clandestine arrival in Cyprus of General Grivas in September, 1971, lots of rumours were circulating that there were proofs that he came to Cyprus encouraged by certain circles in Athens. It is clear anyway that Grivas from the first days of his arrival here was in contact with the officers from Greece serving in the National Guard from whom he was assisted in his efforts to create an underground organization and supposedly to fight for ENOSIS. And he formed the murderous organization "EOKA B."

...I'm sorry to say, Mr. President, that the roots of the evil are very deep and reach Athens. It is fed there, it is supported there, and the tree of evil spreads and develops. The bitter fruits are tasted by the Greek Cypriots. And in order to be absolutely clear, I say that cadres of the military regime of Greece support and guide the activities of the terrorist organization "EOKA B." (Makarios states here that money was sent from Greece, that he has authentic documents of proof, etc.)

It was always one of my principles, and I have declared this - that

my cooperation with any Greek government constitutes a national duty. The national interests dictate the harmonious, close collaboration between Athens and Nicosia. No matter what government existed in Greece, for me it was the government of the Mother country, and I had to collaborate with it. I cannot say that I harbor particular affection for military regimes, and especially in Greece....the country that gave birth to and cradled democracy. But in this case I did not move away from my principles of collaboration. You understand, though, Mr. President, the sad thoughts that occupy me in a torturous way after it has become evident to me that members of the government of Greece are plotting continuously against me. And what is even worse, they divide and push the Cypriot Greeks to fight among themselves. But not only once I felt, and in a few cases I almost touched the invisible hand of Greece, seeking to physically exterminate me. For national reasons I kept silent....

In this effort of the dissolution of the state of Cyprus the responsibility of the Greek government is great. The Cypriot state must be dissolved only in the case of ENOSIS. This being not possible, the strengthening of the state of Cyprus is necessary. The Greek government through its stand towards the matter of the National Guard plays a catalytic role in its policies toward the Cypriot state. A few months ago, the headquarters of the National Guard, which is made up of Greek officers, submitted to the Cypriot government for approval a list of candidate reserve cadets who would study in a special school in order to serve later during the time of their military service as officers. Fifty-seven out of the suggested candidates on the list were not approved by the Cypriot Council of State. In spite of this, following instructions from Athens, the Military Headquarters did not take into consideration the decision of the Council of State, which according to the law has the absolute right to decide on the officers of the National Guard. Acting arbitrarily the Military Headquarters, violating laws, neglected the decision of the Cypriot government and enlisted in the military cadet school the rejected candidates. I consider completely unacceptable the stand of the Military Headquarters of the National Guard which is controlled by the Athens government.

....I have lots to say, Mr. President, but I don't think I should make this letter any longer, and in order to conclude I inform you that the National Guard made up of cadres of Greek officers, whose present corrupt state has shaken the confidence of the Cypriot people toward it, will be re-organized on a new basis.

Possibly it might be said that the limiting of the power of the National Guard, due to the shortening of the length of military service, does not make it capable of facing its mission in case of national danger. For reasons that I do not want to state here, I do not accept this view. And I should like to ask that the officers from Greece who serve as cadres in the National Guard be called back to Greece. Their stay in the National Guard and their administration will become very harmful to the relations between Athens and Nicosia. I would, however, be happy if you wanted to send to Cyprus around 100 officers as instructors and/or counsellors to help in the re-opening and re-structuring of the armed forces of Cyprus. I hope that in the meantime the necessary orders have been given from Athens to "EOKA B" so that it stops its activities because if it is not permanently dissolved there may be a new wave of violence and murders.

I'm sorry, Mr. President, that I found it necessary to say so many unpleasant things in order to describe in stark lines in a language of naked sincerity the very lamentable situation existing in Cyprus for a long time now. But this is imposed by national interests which have always been

the decisive factor in my actions. I do not wish a break in my collaboration with the Greek government. It should, though, be noted that I am not an appointed Nomarch or pro-counsul of the Greek government in Cyprus, but elected leader of a great part of the Greek-Cypriots, and I demand corresponding behavior on the part of the national center.

The contents of this letter are not confidential.

Warmest regards,

(signed) Archbishop Makarios

PRESS RELEASE - FROM THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PAK, JULY 9, 1974:

The permanent target of the United States remains the overthrow of Makarios, the partition of Cyprus, and that country's incorporation into NATO.

Since April 21, 1967, the military junta in Athens, in accordance with the instructions of the Pentagon and the CIA, turned the armed forces into an instrument of oppression of the Greek people and a police state to serve the economic and strategic interests of the U.S. in the Eastern Mediterranean. Consciously the junta is a traitor of the nation and pushes for the partition. Consciously the junta participates in the guided threat against the integrity of the nation on the part of Turkey in Cyprus and in the Aegean.

The courageous decision of the president of Cyprus to confront the junta of Athens, the agents of American imperialism, has had a profound response among the Greek people. The struggle of the Greek people and the Cypriot Greeks is common. We move forward to the confrontation with the occupation forces with no restriction as to means. For the integrity of Greece and Cyprus, for national independence, for popular sovereignty, for the exemplary punishment of the guilty. And we call upon every Greek officer who respects the people from whom he springs to face up to his responsibilities - to move forward to action, to unite with the great popular liberation movement which will secure victory.

The people will win!

Yesterday a cable was sent to Archbishop Makarios (July 8), President of the Cypriot Republic, by Andreas Papandreou, president of the National Council of PAK:

WE GREET YOUR UNCOMPROMISING STAND AND DECISION FOR CONFRONTATION WITH THE JUNTA OF ATHENS, THE AGENTS OF THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION IN GREECE. THE GREEK PEOPLE AND THE HELLENES OF CYPRUS WILL FIGHT WITH ALL MEANS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FOR UNRESTRICTED POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY. THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

THE COUP....AND AFTER

ARMY TAKES OVER CYPRUS IN A COUP LED BY GREEKS; MAKARIOS'S FATE IN DOUBT



Pictorial Parade
Nikos Giorgiades Sampson



United Press International
Archbishop Makarios

JULY 15 - Cypriot troops led by Greek Army officers overthrew the government of Cyprus. There were conflicting reports of the fate of Archbishop Markarios. According to dispatches during the day, the Archbishop was killed in the coup. The Cyprus radio station, taken over by the National Guard insisted repeatedly during the day that Makarios was dead. A clandestine radio station, operating from Paphos, however, made the following statement later in the evening, in English:

"This morning the fascists tried to take over in Cyprus. They tried, and they managed to take over the broadcasting corporation, and they are broadcasting lies. Nothing but lies! President Makarios is still alive and he is the President of Cyprus."

Foreign diplomats, we urge you to tell your countries the truth. President Makarios is alive! He is the President of Cyprus. Cyprus is still a republic! Please tell this to your people, to all free nations. Your help is most valuable to the Greeks of Cyprus. Thank you!"

JULY 16 - MAKARIOS CALLS FOR RESISTANCE

The Cypriot leader, Archbishop Makarios, issued an emotional appeal from hiding in Cyprus calling on nations around the world to save his country from dictatorship and urged Cypriots to turn back a military coup aimed at uniting the island with Greece.

"Greek-Cypriots. You know who is talking to you. You have elected me. I am not dead. I am by your side, a co-fighter and the bearer of the flag of national struggle."

Rally round the legal president. Now is the time for struggle - now or never. Do not obey any orders given by the usurpist government. The

junta has decided to destroy Cyprus.

I call on the free and proud Cypriot fighters to prove worthy of the circumstances and to justify its democratic tradition and history. The eyes of the whole world are focussed on you. International spotlights are concentrating on the scene of the Cypriot drama.

Teach them from this dramatic stage that you know how to fight for your freedom - that you know how to fight for your salvation.

....I appeal to the world's countries not to allow these reactionaries to turn Cyprus into a dictatorship.

Long live Cyprus! Long live the Greek-Cypriots! Long live the nation!"

WOMAN'S VOICE: Makarios is alive! You have heard his voice!

NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK

(The New York Times resident establishment columnist James Reston gives us a look-see into the administration and Pentagon rationale for the coup, without, of course, suggesting that it was instigated in Washington.)

"First, Washington deplores the authoritarian military government in Athens, but it is dependent on bases on the Greek mainland and at Souda Bay in Crete for its supply routes from Europe to the unstable Middle East.

Second, while Washington sympathizes with the plight of President Makarios of Cyprus, he has tended to turn for help to Moscow when in trouble, and the one thing the U.S. wants to avoid, other than losing base privileges in Greece, is to have Soviet forces based on Cyprus, where they could outflank both Greece and Turkey.

Third, the official view here is that it would be extremely difficult to support the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean without the Greek bases and equally difficult to get Congressional support for a Greek government that tries to overthrow President Makarios through Greek officers in Cyprus...."

...."This is another of those cases, however, where the Nixon Administration needs the support of a government it doesn't like (Greece) but tolerates for larger strategic reasons. No doubt the planners at the Pentagon would like to see Greece and Turkey control the island, settle their intercommunal differences on Cyprus and permit it to be used as a NATO base (*perspicacity, James - Ed. Note*), but this is not a notion favored by President Makarios, the Russians, or the United Nations.

What the latest crisis does is to give the Secretary of State Kissinger not only one more problem, but, as in the recent Middle East war, *one more opportunity to reach a more stable compromise (italics ours)* in what has been a danger spot for more than a generation.

Preoccupied with other questions, Washington has not been able to heed the recent warning signs that the shaky arrangements on Cyprus were breaking down, and that the Greek officers on the island were going to try to settle the issue by force of arms. (*Even a sixth grader would have known. Who you kidding, Reston? What expletive deleted is this? - Ed. Note.*)

JULY 17 - MAKARIOS LIFTED FROM CYPRUS. U.S. PLAN STILL OPERATIVE.

Archbishop Makarios arrives in London for talks with Prime Minister Wilson.

Turkish officials, saying they would accept no *fait accompli* on Cyprus, insisted on consultation with England on the basis of the "agreement of guarantee" signed in 1959 by Britain, Greece and Turkey to preserve peace on the island. Prime Minister Ecevit conferred with U.S. Ambassador William B. Macomber Jr., and then flew to London for talks with Prime Minister Wilson.

Reports stated that a large part of the Turkish navy had been moved into the waters between Turkey and Cyprus and that landing craft and transports are moving toward the ports of Iskenderun and Mersin on the Turkish Mediterranean coast. One armoured division reported moving toward the ports from its base in Adan and a total of approximately 90,000 troops are in movement.

Greece declared a general mobilization.

AND MOSCOW?

The Soviet Union charged that NATO had blocked any possibility of effective action on Cyprus by the UN Security Council. Moscow charged that the Atlantic Alliance was probably behind the coup in the first place since members "could not tolerate the independent existence of the republic of Cyprus, adhering to an independent foreign policy, the policy of non-alignment."

The Soviet Union said it would continue to support the "legitimate government of Archbishop Makarios...." Attempts by the Greek government to conceal its involvement with this criminal act by picturing the current events in Cyprus as a result of internal struggle cannot delude anyone.... The whole world is aware that the conspiracy in Cyprus was staged by the Greek officers stationed there, who were directed by the Greek government and who follow orders from Athens."

AND WASHINGTON?

The United States disclosed that it had begun discussions with the new leadership on Cyprus. High American officials indicated that the Nixon Administration was leaning more toward Nikos Sampson, the leader of the military coup that overthrew the government of President Makarios.

Sisco is sent to London and then to Athens and Ankara to confer with the governments.

High American officials said that Secretary of State Kissinger had rejected the appeals of departmental specialists on Greek-Turkish-Cypriot affairs that the U.S. stand by President Makarios and assert that Greek forces had intervened illegally on the island.

For years, the officials said, the Nixon Administration has viewed Makarios as the "Castro of the Mediterranean" who turned too readily toward Communist states for assistance.

.... "We think he is finished politically," a Kissinger aide said of Makarios. "He can't go back to Cyprus unless General Ioannidis is thrown out in Athens and, even though the junta has its problems, that doesn't seem likely now."

JULY 18 - JAWBONING IN LONDON

Makarios meets with Wilson in London.

Premier Ecevit of Turkey arrives later for talks with Wilson. He spoke of finding peaceful solutions while at the same time there were reports of continuing build-up of armed forces in his country.

He asked Britain to move in concert with Turkey to restore constitutional rule in Cyprus.

JULY 19 - MAKARIOS ARRIVES IN NEW YORK

Nikos Sampson holds his first press conference and described himself as the restorer of freedom and human rights in Cyprus.

About 30 Turkish assault landing craft pulled out of Mersin harbor and headed in the general direction of Cyprus. Thousands of troops massed along the Mediterranean coast just 50 miles from Cyprus for a possible invasion.

In a statement to the 15-member NATO Council, Greece said that it will replace the 650 Greek officers of the Cyprus National Guard who staged the anti-Makarios coup, saying the replacement would take place in stages, starting "in the next few days."

Turkey called the Greek offer "a maneuver."

JULY 20 -

CYPRUS INVADED



CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD TANKS IN READINESS IN STREETS OF NICOSIA



A.G. Papandreou

As the PAK NEWSLETTER goes to press, fighting is still raging in Cyprus, although a cease-fire has been called for by the United Nations and arrangements are being made by Sisco of the United States. Developments are occurring so fast, and we believe here among the members of the staff that there are more to come, that we decided to close this issue with an interview with Andreas Papandreou from Europe by phone to the CBC show "As it Happens," which is an interpretation of events so far. This interview was broadcast on July 22.

Q: MR. PAPANDREOU, WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE IN CYPRUS?

AP: This is the execution of a plan that had been prepared long ago after the failure of the American plan known as Plan Acheson. In 1964 when we were in government, President Johnson invited the Greek prime minister and several ministers, myself included, and President Inonou of Turkey, with the demand that we agree to intervene militarily in Cyprus to destroy the independence of the island, which he called the Cuba of the Mediterranean, and to incorporate the island in two ways: one-fifth of the island to the Turks, four-fifths to the Greeks. The main objective of the exercise was to incorporation of Cyprus into NATO which would permit the United States to establish military bases on Cyprus. This we rejected and as a result of that very strong objection, the Americans worked very hard to oust us from government - which they managed to do with an Army and a Palace which they controlled through their agencies very effectively. In fact, one of the major objectives of the Greek dictatorship which was imposed on Greece in April 1967 was to lead to a solution, in fact, which would serve the American interests in Cyprus. They have attempted two or three times to assassinate President Makarios who has been committed to the independence of the island since the island is a nation and, as such, has status in the United Nations. Having failed that, they decided finally, and that must have been a Kissinger decision, since the plan has been there for a long time, to put on a theatrical operation, the grand theatrical operation being the following: The Greek junta, which is entirely controlled by the services of the United States would provoke the situation in Cyprus by overthrowing President Makarios, since it controls the National Guard in Cyprus. The officers of the National Guard are Greek, get orders from the Greek junta, which is under the control of the CIA and the Pentagon. So they staged a coup to overthrow Makarios following which they imposed upon the Cypriot people a president who is a well-known killer by the name of Sampson....

Q: ARE YOU SAYING, MR. PAPANDREOU, THAT WHAT WE ARE SEEING IN CYPRUS IS ORCHESTRATED? THAT THE TURKISH MOVEMENTS AND GREEK MOVEMENTS ARE BEING ARRANGED AND STAGE-MANEUVORED BY THE CIA?

AP: And by Mr. Kissinger personally. It is one of the greatest shows on earth. The only trouble with it is that it means death. In fact, I can predict the next few moves because they are very predictable, and we have predicted them before. You see, I am on record many times having predicted just this scenario, so for me it is very simple to tell you what the next few steps will be as well. The next steps will be in Geneva - the convocation of Great Britain, as a guarantor power, Turkey and Greece -

there may be some difficulties, of course, it is hard to predict details - but the substance of it is that the Turks will stay in Cyprus and this is the objective of the game. Once the Turks are in Cyprus...the Turkish state, I mean, not the Turkish community, by armed presence of the Turkish state, the presence of the Greek state in armed fashion will also be required. That will be tantamount to a partition of the island, and it will make it possible - for both Turkey and Greece are members of NATO - to turn the island into a fortress for the U.S., both air force and fleet, and the whole thing amounts to control of the eastern Mediterranean.

Q: AND THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF CYPRUS WILL CEASE TO EXIST....

AP: Cyprus has ceased to exist. And no matter what legal forms they will go through in Geneva, this is a *fait accompli*....and this has been the plan of President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Dean Acheson, MacNamara....and its taken exactly 10 years to realize it. What is interesting is that the Soviet Union has acquiesced, because the Soviet Union had undertaken very serious guarantees toward President Makarios which it has not executed. What this really suggests is a condominium between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in that part of the world. I don't know exactly what deals... but this is what it suggests.

Q: COULD YOU GIVE US SOME EXAMPLES OF THE SITUATION AS IT HAS DEVELOPED THAT CONFIRMS YOUR VIEW OF WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE?

AP: Surely. First of all, the whole thing was triggered by the decision of the Greek junta to overthrow President Makarios. But not only that, but to impose on Cyprus a president who was known to be anti-Turk. This was a clear provocation to Turkey. Now if Greece was militarily in a position to defend the island....that is, given that Greece does not dispose of an air force capable because of the great distance between Cyprus and Greece to give cover to the Greek-Cypriot Turks in the struggle with Turkey, it was clear that it was leading Greece and Cyprus to a defeat....and all this because they are low functionaries of the CIA and the Pentagon. This is what the Greek regime today is. You see, the Greek people do not guide their fate, and the Greek armed forces, I am extremely sorry to say that, and it pains me to say that, are not serving the interests of Greece, but are serving the interests of NATO and the United States.

The next interview was with Dr. Roger Morris, former aide to Henry Kissinger and presently director of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace in Washington. He listened to the Papandrou interview and was asked to comment.

Q: DR. MORRIS, IS IT POSSIBLE THAT WASHINGTON KNEW IN ADVANCE OF THE COUP IN CYPRUS AND CHOSE TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY?

RM: Yes, I believe it is possible. I think the relationship of the American Embassy and the CIA in Athens is so close to the present Greek government that it seems to me quite dubious to believe anything else. I think they would have had that information via the military or intelligence liaison people and that Washington did in fact "look the other way" because, as you know, the Nixon Administration regarded the Makarios government as a belligerent, potentially hostile force in the Mediterranean. Henry Kissinger has been quoted as saying that Makarios was the "Castro of the Mediterranean," so that they would have viewed his replacement in quite a favorable light....

Q: ARE EVENTS TURNING OUT AS THE U.S. WOULD HAVE WISHED?

RM: Well, I think so. If there is a cessation of fighting and if the ceasefire holds, and if some new government which is not persuaded as President Makarios was to have close ties with the Soviet Union eventually emerges here....but I think these events are difficult to control.... obviously there is very serious diplomacy being carried on now to try to get a compromise settlement which would remove the Sampson who is their present leader, the leader of the forces that overthrew the Makarios regime... but the emotional factors here are very difficult to measure. For both the Greek and Turkish governments events on Cyprus are very important domestic political issues.....I think the U.S. here is in the same position as it was with Chile and events in East Pakistan. We place ourselves squarely on the side of violence and on the side of the forces overthrowing a legally constituted government. The real loser here, as always in these circumstances, is the cause of human rights and international legality....

THE CIA

IN A BOOK SOON TO BE PUBLISHED, A FORMER CIA MEMBER DESCRIBES HOW THE U.S. MANIPULATES OTHER GOVERNMENTS....

PHILLIP AGEE SEES THE CIA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF OPPRESSION, SUPPORTING UNJUST MINORITY REGIMES AND TRYING TO SUPPRESS GROUPS AND PEOPLE WHO STAND FOR CHANGE.

